

532 reindeer from straying away, and, as often happens, from getting lost. When
 788 a reindeer is slaughtered, the sacred fire-board is taken out and smeared with
 333 blood. Instead of a grass collar, the Reindeer Koryak put on it a tie made
 of the hair from the mane of a reindeer-buck.

Among the Maritime group, as well as among the Reindeer Koryak, the sacred fire-board is connected with the family welfare, and therefore it must not be carried into a strange house. But if two families join for the winter and live in one house, in order to obviate the necessity of procuring fuel for two houses, both take their own charms along into the common house, without risk to their effectiveness by so doing. The sacred fire-board is usually transmitted to the younger son, — or to the younger daughter, provided her husband remains in his father-in-law's house and the brothers establish new houses for themselves or raise separate herds. Often fire-boards are found that have outlasted two, three, or more generations.

778 THE DRUM. — The drum (ya'yai), which, as will be seen later on, plays
 534 an important rôle in ceremonials and shamanistic performances, at the same
 592 time ranks with the sacred fire-board as one of the guardians of the household. The drum is the master of the sleeping-apartment where it is kept. Every married couple has a drum of their own. A bride who has her own sleeping-tents also possesses her own drum. The drum is especially held in esteem by the Reindeer Koryak. Just as a herd cannot exist without a sacred fire-board, so a family cannot get along without a drum.

778 KAMAKS AND KALAKS. — A large class of guardian charms are called
 342 kamaks and kalaks,¹ — the same names as are applied to the hostile spirits described before.² It appears from this that these names do not always signify a thing harmful and evil, like the Yakut word abasy.³

In distinction from the evil spirits, this class of "charm-guardians" are often called otkamak, or okkamak; that is, "wooden kamak." By the Maritime Koryak, the most important place among the wooden kamaks is assigned to the one considered as guardian of the inhabited place. It cannot, however, be called "guardian of the village," in the sense of guardian of the community, since the social organization of the Koryak is so loose that the term "community" cannot very well be applied. The wooden kamak (okkamak) is considered rather as a guardian of the habitation. He is also called Nimyo'lin, which signifies "habitation," and he appears as a guardian or master of it.

The "guardian of the habitation" has the shape of a post, tapering at the top, and sometimes forked, the thinner branch representing the arm of the charm. It is located close to the village, usually on a hill overlooking

¹ The Koryak plural of kamak is ka'maku. Since kamak has been used with an English plural (Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 631), the English plural has been used here.

² See p. 27.

³ Abasy' (*pl.* abasya'r) means not only "evil spirit," corresponding to the Koryak kala or to the Chukchee kele, but everything harmful in nature.

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the figure of the guardian rested on the child's back. Two little bags with fragments of stone arrow-points were also attached to the strap; but their meaning is not clear. The-Searching-Kamak-Face guards, keeps in place, or restores the child's soul, which may leave the body or go astray. Small children are

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Fig. 8 (119). Snow-Beater serving as Guardian. Length, 54 cm.

especially subject to assaults of evil spirits, and the souls frightened by the latter desert the bodies. When children are asleep, their souls also leave their bodies, and lose their way. In such cases The-Searching-Kamak-Face catches them, and puts them back in place.

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Although the "searching little charm" is, like the Roman *genius*, an individual protector of the child that wears it, it is to be regarded as one of the

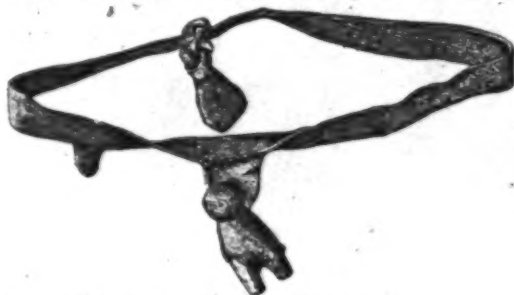


Fig. 9, a (119), b (119). Child's Guardians. Length of a, 10 cm.

family *penates*. It is transmitted by inheritance. The older it is, the more powerful does it become. When a child is born in a family, the charm is taken off from the older child, and sewed to the clothing of the new-born child. A new charm is made only in case the family divides.

THE SKIN BOAT AND ITS CHARMS. — Among the rest of the family deities, the skin boat, as an implement for procuring food, is an important guardian of the family hearth. Being closely linked with the family cult of the Maritime Koryak, the skin boat cannot belong to two households that are not mutually connected by ties of consanguinity. Neither can it be sold, or given temporarily to strangers. As one of the household *penates*, it is the source of the family's welfare. The owner of the skin boat generally takes along strangers,

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from among those who do not own a boat, to assist him in his hunt; for not all families are in possession of a skin boat. It is considered a sign of prosperity to own one. The assistants get a share of the product, but are regarded simply as laborers, who work for their master. Sometimes they will give the owner of the skin boat seal-skins to mend the boat; but these are looked upon as presents to the owner of the boat, and he may dispose of them in any manner, he may see fit. The first launching of the boat in the spring, and the last beaching in the fall, when it is to be put away for the winter, are considered as family festivals among the Maritime Koryak.

Charmed forked alder-twigs called *iklō'* (*sing.* i'kla) are prepared in the spring, when the skin boat is launched, and are placed in the prow of the boat (Fig. 10, a). They are the comrades and assistants of the skin boat, and are supposed to attract whales and other sea-animals to it. In the village

of Kamenskoye the "guardians" of the whale-skin are also called *iklō'*.¹

On the upper end of the prow of the boat is a small forked figure, placed with legs pointing upward, over which the harpoon-thong is pulled. A face is carved on the opposite end. It is considered the manager of the skin boat. The specimen here figured (Fig. 10, b) was an old boat-charm which, having been worn out by use, had been replaced by a new one, and which was deposited among the other *penates* of the house.

THE LADDER. — The ladder which is used for the entrance into the winter house of the Maritime Koryak is also

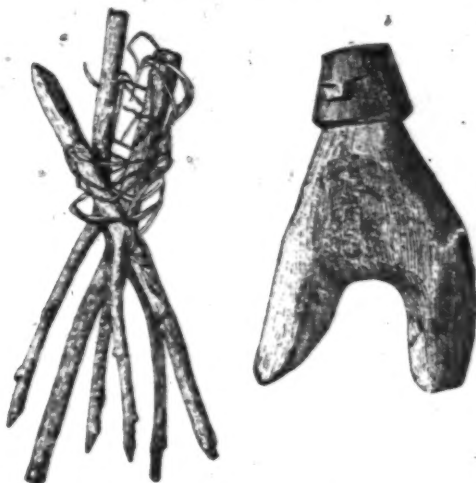


Fig. 10. Guardians of the Skin Boat. a (11a), Forked Alder-Twigs representing Guardians in Human Shape (length, 23 cm.); b (11b), Attachment to the Prow, representing the Manager of the Boat (length, 20 cm.).

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classed among the guardians of the house. A crudely carved human face is represented on the top of the ladder. (Fig. 11). It is called Old-Woman (i'n-pa-nā'ut). This guardian is apparently a woman. The image is also called Ye'lutkin; that is, "the head of the ladder." The ladder is the master of the house-entrance. It is supposed not to allow any kamaks to get in. When the house is temporarily deserted, — for instance, when the people move to

¹ See p. 38.

233 three thousand reindeer, and the largest herd that I ever saw near the Indighirka River was estimated at something over five thousand reindeer.

It is true that the Tungus, when speaking to Russians, always underestimate the number of their reindeer, so as to appear poor, since they do not like to kill them for meat, for which the Russians come; but such is not the case with the Koryak. They are very vain and boastful in that respect, and are prone to exaggerate the size of their herds. In the Taigonos Peninsula the chieftain would frequently say to me, "I am a rich man: I am very rich in reindeer." On the contrary, Abraham, the Tungus whom I mentioned above, tried to underrate in my opinion the size of his herd, calling my attention to the fact that it did not belong to him alone, but that all of his relatives had a share in it.

● [592] On the Taigonos Peninsula, where the Koryak have mastered the art of counting, I took a census of the reindeer by households (I use the word "household" and not "family," because usually brothers and other relatives keep their herds together). I do not consider the figures that follow absolutely accurate, but they will give an approximate idea of the value of the Koryak reindeer industry.

233 I enumerated sixty-three households, which gave a total of 17,000
592 reindeer. The four largest herds numbered 2,000, 2,500, 3,500, and 5,000
511 head respectively. The remaining households had from five reindeer to eight hundred reindeer each. Thirty-four households, or more than half, had from five to fifty reindeer each. The majority of owners of small herds had no households of their own, but worked as herdsmen for the wealthy reindeer-breeders. Dividing 17,000 (reindeer) by 318 (the total number of Taigonos Koryak), and multiplying the quotient by 3,748 (the total number of Reindeer Koryak), we get 200,000, the probable total of Koryak reindeer.

233 The Koryak reindeer are intended mainly for slaughter. With the
437 exception of a small number used for racing, driving, and as draught-animals
439 in their migrations, the entire herd of a wealthy Koryak serves for consumption in various ways. From his herd he gets meat for food, and skins for clothing and tents, and he exchanges the slaughtered reindeer and their skins for articles of consumption which he does not possess. From the Maritime Koryak he gets by barter walrus and seal thongs, fat, oil, and meat, iron-ware made by their smiths, embroidered funeral dress, and dried fly-agarie. From the Russians he receives in exchange tea, tobacco, bread, printed cloth, and other imported goods. With the hunters he exchanges his reindeer-meat and reindeer-skins for the furs of fur-animals, which he again exchanges with Russian merchants for imported goods.

233 The great mass of the Tungus find in the reindeer merely a means of
171 transportation. The Tungus households which own large herds are not of a uniform type throughout. In the Gishiga district the Tungus household has

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reindeer meet with a dog-team unawares, they are inevitably torn to pieces. The dogs pay no attention to their master's shouts and club. The only way of stopping the carnage is to knock the dogs on the head and stun or kill them. While in camp in the wilderness, the dogs which lie tied up near the sledge do not allow strangers to go near it, perhaps because they know that their food is on the sledge, for at home they do not attack or molest strangers. Noticeable changes of character took place in my dogs which I had brought up myself, partly due to the different treatment, partly owing to their new surroundings. It cost a great deal of trouble to train them to discriminate between domestic animals, which they had never seen, and game which they were permitted to hunt. They used to catch chickens, ducks, geese, sheep, calves, foals, and cats all in the same fashion, by the throat. More than once I had to pay for the harm they had done. Even after they had finally become accustomed to domestic animals, atavistic enmities persisted. Their feuds with cats had no end, and they would always attack hogs; but from the very start the latter would drive them off, and the dogs came to be afraid of them.

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In imitation of our dogs, they learned to bark, but they never barked at a person. On the contrary, they lost all fear of human beings, and took kindly to everybody. On the other hand, their attachment to their master and his friends was sufficiently firm. The dogs recognized me after an absence of several weeks, and boisterously expressed their delight. The Koryak dogs, on passing into new hands, become indifferent to their former master in a few days, as soon as they become familiar with their new comrades and their feeding-trough. At first, when in unwonted places, my dogs would sometimes fall to howling, which casts a feeling of melancholy and despondency over a traveller whom fate brings into a hamlet where a chorus of a hundred dogs begins its interminable evening concerts. After a few months' sojourn in civilized surroundings, however, they gave up their habit of howling.

An idea of the number of dogs kept by the Koryak may be formed on the bases of a census taken by me in 79 households of maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay (see table on p. 522).

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The average per household is 10 dogs. The figures quoted are more or less constant. Although the dogs are very prolific, the number of dog-sacrifices equals or even surpasses the increase. If in spring, as frequently happens, an epidemic of hydrophobia or another contagious disease a symptom of which is an affection of the nerve-centres, rages among the dogs, many households lose all their animals. Then the people, when moving from their winter abode to their summer dwelling, have to drag their belongings along, or assist their dogs in drawing the sledges. A travelling family of this kind is represented on Plate xxvi, Fig. 2. One dog is harnessed to each sledge, and the women draw with them, while the men carry huge bundles on their shoulders.

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592 Families that have poor or young workers, and who cannot lay by sufficient stores of dog's food for the winter, usually own few dogs. The
231 members of such families are deprived of the chance of making trips to the
511 Russian hamlets to buy imported wares, or to the nomad camps of the Reindeer Koryak to trade for reindeer-meat.

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS.	NUMBER OF DOGS IN EACH HOUSEHOLD.	TOTAL NUMBER OF DOGS.
1	2	2
4	3	12
4	4	16
4	5	20
4	6	24
1	7	40
13	8	104
5	9	45
13	10	130
3	11	33
5	12	60
2	13	26
1	15	15
1	16	16
3	17	51
1	18	18
8	20	160
TOTAL 79		781

471 Nearly all the men who own as many as twenty dogs, — enough for
494 two teams at the rate of ten dogs per sledge — either conduct an independent trade or are employed as clerks by the Russian merchants. Almost all
[326] through the winter the senior member of such a family is journeying from
[437] one reindeer-camp to another; while at home only a few dogs remain for work around the house, for trips to get wood, for hauling supplies of food from the summer camp, and for other exigencies. The smiths of Paren and Kuel, too, own not less than ten dogs each, which enable them to carry their iron-work among the Reindeer Koryak for barter. I found the best dogs among the Itkana people.¹ Their settlements lie off the main trail, running

¹ Around Bering Sea the best dogs are to be found on the Pogol (see Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, Vol. VII of this series, p. 502).

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in the common use of the skin boat, if he remains in the same village. In case of the death of the father or of a childless brother, the brother who keeps house for himself receives a portion of the inheritance, even if his brother's widow passes on to another, younger brother. I have already said that girls, on marrying into other families, take with them nothing but their clothes. The reindeer which the bride takes along are often delivered by her kinsfolk to her father-in-law, not immediately after the wedding, but according to the most convenient moment, considering what season is most favorable for the welfare of the herd.

The reindeer are the property of all the members of the family, but the movements of the herd are directed by the father. According to custom, each newly born child, irrespective of sex, receives one reindeer-heifer or more with a special mark on the ear.¹ This gives each member of the family a share in the herd later on. Under favorable conditions, a whole herd may be formed by the yearly increase of the herd of these heifers, before the child is ready to marry. Of course, the original herd belongs to the father; but considering that each child has its own reindeer, and that the wife and daughters-in-law retain as their property the reindeer which they brought in marriage, the whole herd of a large family belongs to a group of interrelated proprietors, under the direction of the eldest male. This elder may be the eldest brother or paternal uncle. On the father's death, the original herd is divided up among the sons, and, in the absence of children, among the brothers of the deceased. At marriage, daughters usually receive a share of the original herd from their father, in addition to their own reindeer. Some Koryak divide their deer equally among their sons and daughters, and give a proportionate part to the daughter at the time of her marriage;² but then the daughter is no longer entitled to inherit part of the herd on her father's death. If an unmarried girl is at home when her father dies, her brothers give her the reindeer at the time of her marriage. If a wife leaves her husband or is cast out by him, her relatives take back her reindeer. I have already said that divorces are very rare. After the birth of children, who are heirs to both their mother's and father's reindeer, the husband manages his wife's reindeer more independently. In general, the eldest member of the family manages the common herd of the family entirely without control. He designates which reindeer are to be killed for meat, clothing, sacrifices, and sale. He oversees the pasture and herdsman, and picks out the reindeer to be trained for harness. Of course, he often consults his wife or eldest son.

The parting of brothers, or the separation of a married son from the

¹ See p. 492.

² In Tale 86 Vñen-heut marries Magpie-Man. They eat up all the reindeer which Big-Raven had given them. Vñen-heut comes to her father to ask for food; and Big-Raven says, "You ate your share of reindeer, I have nothing else to give you" (Part I, p. 259).

224 found side by side with the communistic principle, but that at the present time the principle of work has become predominant. As I have said before,¹ not all among the Maritime Koryak are owners of skin boats. For the hunting of sea-animals in boats, many men are required, and the owners of boats are eager to accept the services of those who do not own any. The relations of these helpers to the owner of the boat are not those of hirelings and master, but of associates with equal rights. The catch is divided into equal parts. In order to obtain more men for his boat, the owner at times takes for himself less than his just share. The participants in his chase, on their part, contribute their own harpoons, and supply the owner with thongs and skins for repairing the boat. When fish and seals are caught with nets, the owners of the latter form groups of several families at each net, among whom the haul of the net is equitably divided. Some individuals prefer to hunt and fish by themselves. Needed assistance is offered mostly to relatives through blood or marriage. Workmen hired for a certain yearly compensation can be found only in the Russianized settlements. Men serving for their brides occupy the position of free workmen; if, however, they have to support aged parents, a share in the products of hunting and fishing is accorded to them. During the exchanges with tradesmen it becomes evident that the hunter's right or ownership is more sharply defined in reference to products of fur-hunting than in reference to objects of consumption. At home the hunter deals with the skins of the fur-animals he has killed more independently than does the fisherman with the fish he has caught, exchanging them frequently for articles he personally needs.

463 The position of herdsmen among reindeer-owners is now essentially the same as before;² but, if a herdsman lives with his family in a separate tent, the number of reindeer he will receive during the year to kill is often agreed upon in advance.

177 Russian influence has further manifested itself in the tendency of large families to split up into smaller ones. The Koryak assert that in ancient times the houses were more spacious, and that all relatives, to the number of forty or more individuals, lived together in one dwelling. In houses of the Maritime Koryak I have never seen more than fifteen individuals. Among the Reindeer Koryak I found twenty-five individuals in one tent, thirteen of whom, however, were herdsmen and their families. Besides, the sisters and daughters of the master had married into other families, which is of common occurrence, although in ancient times families related by marriage not infrequently lived together. In this case, however, the elder brother, with his family and herds, had also separated from the group, which in ancient times happened very seldom. But nowadays I have frequently met cousins or brothers

¹ See p. 538.² See p. 766.

living apart. In connection with the separation of brothers, the custom of minority succession has become established. The mother, the aged father, and the unmarried sisters, remain with the younger brother, who also retains the house, all family protectors and amulets, and the boat. The reindeer of the remaining members of the family are under his general supervision. 177
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VENDETTA. — Blood-revenge does not seem to occur at present. This is one of the late results of Russian influence, for the archives record cases of blood-vengeance reported by district officials to the Province Administration up to very recent times. The disappearance of this custom, however, must be ascribed solely to the cultural influence of Russian manners, and not to the stringency of the Russian laws. 628
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The Administration is powerless to enforce respect for the Russian laws in the desolate tundras. In distant localities beyond the easy reach of Russian settlers, murders in the name of revenge for blood or insult probably still continue to occur.

With the Koryak, as with all primitive peoples, the practice of taking blood-revenge has arisen as a re-action to lawless violence. Within certain limits this object has been attained; but no sooner did one murder occur than it would be followed by an entire series of other murders, and the feud between two family groups would not infrequently be kept alive through several generations.

The duty of avenging the murder of a relative fell upon the male members of the consanguineous group. According to the accounts of the Koryak, the immediate avengers were the brothers; then followed cousins, nephews, and the more remote relatives on the father's or mother's side. In case there were no brothers, the father or uncle, unless impeded by age, would take their place. On the whole, however, vengeance for blood was considered by the Koryak to be the duty of all blood-relatives, and not of single individuals. A consanguineous group consisting of one or several families was also jointly responsible for a murder committed by one of its members, and in so far must be regarded as one juridical personality. We know that the old men often attempted to check the spread of blood-revenge. For this purpose, ransom was resorted to. The Reindeer people would give reindeer to the family of the victim; while the ransom of the Maritime people would consist of skins, embroidered clothes, arms, and other articles.

In one of his reports to the Governor in 1885, the chief of the Gishiga district refers to one case of murder committed at a fair on the Palpal. The relatives of the murderer entered into negotiations with the relatives of the victim in regard to a ransom; but when the latter proved too exacting, the former cut short the negotiations, hurriedly broke camp under cover of night, and, accompanied by distant relatives, migrated northward, leaving the family of the victim free to act in accordance with custom. It is further

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sea hunting with reindeer-breeding. The remaining 7 groups of Koryaks—the Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantay, Apukintay, Kereks, Karagintay and Palantay—also maintained complex economies, with one or another occupation predominating.

Koryak reindeer-breeding was of two types. The first type—the keeping of large herds—existed among the Chavchuvens. In the early part of the 20th century, a small group of reindeer-breeders owned large herds, accounting for up to 80% of the total number of head. In the area of the Penzhina River, some reindeer-breeders owned 2-3 herds, adding up to as many as 10,000 reindeer. The pasturing of the large herds owned by the rich Koryaks was done by poor Koryaks who owned only a few reindeer or none at all, and were compelled to tend their master's herds in exchange for food and clothing.

The reindeer provided the principal item of the reindeer-breeders' diet—meat, and the basic material for clothing and housing—hides, as well as tendons, of which thread was made. At the same time, the reindeer was to the reindeer-breeders the sole means of transportation. Hence, the entire life of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks was adapted to the demands of their basic occupation. In winter, the herd grazed near the encampment. As soon as the pasture was exhausted, the master drove out in a light sled, similar to that of the Chukchi and harnessed to a pair of deer, to search for another pasture. After that, the entire camp migrated to the new site, and the herdsmen drove the herd to the new pasture. Such migrations took place 4-5 times during the winter. In the spring, before the calving (in April), the females were separated from the rest of the herd. Calving time (May) was the hardest period for the reindeer-breeders. The newborn calves had to be protected from predators—wolves, foxes, wolverines and ravens, and also kept from freezing. At this time, the herdsmen had no rest either by day or by night. They were helped by members of their families, and even old men and children took part in guarding the herd in encampments where the human population was small. Afterwards, the herdsmen drove the herds for the whole summer into the mountains, which abounded in pasturelands. The correct choice of the summer pasture determined the welfare of the herd for the entire year. Summer pasturing required from the reindeer-breeder great skill, experience, and knowledge of the tundra and the reindeer's requirements. The encampment was situated at this period in a summer site, usually on the bank of a river abounding in fish. In autumn (at the end of September and beginning of October), the herdsmen brought the herd to the encampment. Meeting of the herd—one of the principal holidays of the reindeer-breeders—was attended by numerous rituals. After the first snow, the herd and the camp migrated to the winter range.

The herding was done without dogs, which the Koryak reindeer-breeders did not use. Nimble feet, alert eyes and a leather lasso requiring great skill of the herdsmen—these were the means at his disposal to protect the herd from snowstorms and wolves in winter, from foxes and ravens in spring, during the calving season, and from mosquitoes and gnats in summer.

Another type of reindeer-breeding—that of small herds—existed among the Alyutortsy Koryaks. More than 50% of all the Alyutortsy kept reindeer, but few had herds as large as 1000 head. A characteristic feature of Alyutor reindeer-breeding was the use of dogs as the principal sled animals. Each household had one, two, three or more teams. Reindeer were used only for short trips without loads.

This type of reindeer-breeding was usually combined with sea hunting and fishing. All the Alyutortsy, with rare exceptions, went out on sea hunts, especially in spring, when they hunted on drifting ice floes. In summer,

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Drying skins.

342 removed, or else worn, old coverings were used. The main skeleton of the yaranga consisted of three thick poles, 3-4 meters long and inserted so as to form a large tripod. In a circle around them were set shorter vertical poles (1.5 to 2 m long) at a distance of one or two meters. These were connected at the top with horizontal beams, from which more poles ran to the top of the tripod. This frame was then covered with pelts. Light penetrated into the dwelling through the smoke-opening above and through the entrance, when the skin serving as a door was thrown back.

[391] Inside the yaranga, 3-4 canopies were attached to the horizontal beams. These canopies, made of reindeer skins, were occupied by separate families. A canopy formed an enclosure of skins and was lighted by a lamp fueled with reindeer or seal fat. Inside the canopy, it was very warm, and during the day the front part was usually raised and left open.

[184] Among the Koryaks who nomadized in southern Kamchatka, yarangas usually had from 3 to 6 canopies, which were high enough to stand in without touching the ceiling. The canopies were very often cleaned and beaten out. Yarangas were built by women, and their size depended on the wealth of the inhabitants.

[354] Most of the coastal Koryaks lived in semidugouts. The base of such a dwelling consisted of a large pit, 1-1.5 meters deep. The walls of the pit were reinforced with a paling of vertical logs, which formed an octagon. Each corner of the octagon was joined on the top, by means of a beam, with the tops of four main posts set in the center of the pit. On these beams were laid flat planks, forming the roof. The frame was covered with sod. At one side of the semidugout was a corridor, 2-3 meters long, with small doors at either end; this served as the summer entrance (or, to be more precise, the spring and autumn entrance). Overhead, in the center of the roof, was a square opening (0.5 x 0.5 m), which was at the same time a smoke vent, a window, and a winter entrance. Instead of a ladder, the Koryaks used a thick log, grooved to form steps. Outside on the roof, around the entrance (smoke vent), they built a funnel of poles (on the coast of Penzhina Bay), or of woven twigs (on the eastern coast), to protect the entrance from snowdrifts. The funnel was supported by props. Inside the dwelling, low benches were built along three of the walls. These were covered with skins, and over them were hung sleeping canopies. A hearth was constructed at the wall on which the corridor opened. In winter, the corridor served as a storage room and a ventilator flue: there was a vent in its ceiling, and this was opened when a fire was going in the hearth. A semidugout usually housed several (2, 3 or more) related families (much like the reindeer-breeder's yaranga). Some of them held as many as 30-40 inhabitants. When spring came, the Koryaks moved to tall huts, set on stilts. Later they began to use fabric tents.

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